Weekly National Intelligencer.

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Weekly National Intelligencer

BY GALES & SEATON. JAMES C. WELLING, ASSOCIATE EDITOR. The subscription price of this paper for a year is Two DOLLARS, payable in advance.

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MR. BLAIR S SPEECH.

We need do no more than direct the attention of our readers to the speech of the Hon. MONT-GOMERY BLAIR, the Postmaster General, as found in another part of to-day's Intelligencer, and which was delivered at the Union meeting held at Rockville, near this city, on Saturday last.

It will be seen that in his speech Mr. BLAIR subjects the revolutionary dogmas of the abolitronists, which it is now sought to foist upon the country in the assumed names of "loyalty" and "freedom," to a searching analysis, in which he explodes their pretensions equally on the grounds of reason and of law, while he sets in a clear light their incompatibility with the pacification of our distracted country and their antagonism to the declared policy and purposes of the President.

We shall take subsequent occasion to recur to this outspoken denunciation, directed by a member of Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet to the exposure and condemnation of the radical dcotrines against which, within our humble sphere, we have felt it our duty, equally as faithful journalists and as defenders of the Constitution and the Laws, to enter our earnest and reiterated protests. It gives us pleasure to find the voice of authority confirming the justice of the warnings we have addressed to our readers in deprecation of the infatuated policy which it was sought to interpolate on that initiated by the President in the conduct of the

THE MISSOURI RADICALS IN NEW YORK.

The Missouri and Kansas Delegations, or a portion of them, which have visited this city for the purpose of urg ing upon the President the adoption of the radical policy in the administration of public effairs in those two States, have made a trip to New York, where they were honored with a public reception on Friday evening last, at the Cooper Institute, under the auspices of the German Na-

The mass meeting there assembled is represented to have been quite a large one, and its proceedings were characterized by rauch enthusiasm.

Mr. Frederick Kapp, President of the National Club presided, and speeches were made by William Cullen Bryant, Charles P. Johnson, Dr. Schutz, Col. Arnold Kreket, Emil Pretorious, and Col. Moss.

The Evening Post disapproves of some of the language used by the spe kers, and says that "they sometimes expressed a suspicion that they were going further than the sympathies of the audience would accompany them. One or two expressions in their speeches had even a ' revolutionary sound." But the Pest excuses their violence by saving that "they have spoken under great exasperation," and thinks that "Mr. Lincoln is wise enough to understand all this, and to make allowances for, it."

The Times speaks out more boldly, and characterized the proceedings as "HECTORING THE GOVERNMENT."

Under this heading it says:

"The 'Missouri delegation' who lately made an ir up tion, one hundred strong, upon the White House and set forth a programme which they required Mr. Lincoln to * pursue, have broken up into squads and commenced a series of popular appeals in different parts of the land in behalf of their schemes.

"They obtained a hearing in our city last night, but if the tone of the speeches delivered and of the resolutions adopted is the measure of their levalty and respect for the established authorities of the nation, the President will be held excused from paying any further attention

"Insubordination breathes throughout all they say of do-and their purpose would seem to be to ruin the Ad-' ministration if they cannot rule it."

We extract a few passages from the remarks of some o the speakers, as indicative of the sentiment and spirit of the meeting.

Mr. BRYANT, after alluding to the nature of the griev ances laid before the Pres dent by these delegations, said : I hope that we shall soon hear that these things have

more vigorous and carnest hands. [Cheers.]

Those men who now have control of public affairs i Missouri sie, I understand, gradual emancipationists Gradual emancipation! There is no grosser delusion ever entertained by man. I speak not of the past: I speak of the present time. There have been good men, doubtless who have yielded to the dream that gradual emancipation was the best method of getting rid of slavery, and some wise men have perhaps sanctioned that policy in time past. But the policy is now exploded. Our experience in North Carolina, our experience in Port Royal, and a larger and more decisive experience in Louisiana have borne testi-mony against it—have shown that in instant emancipation is no danger: have shown that instant emancipation

carries with it every advantage.

And yet there are men who talk of gradual emancipation by force of ancient habit, and there are men in th Slave States who make of slavery a sort of idol which they are unwilling to part with, which, if it must be removed they would prefer to see removed af er a lapse of time and tender leave-takings. Slavery is a foul and monstronido', a Juggernaut under which thousands are crushed to death. It is a Moloch for whom the children of the land pass through fire. Must we consent that the number of the victims shall be gradually dimenished? No, my friends, let us burl this grim image from its pedestal. Down with it to the ground. [Cheers.] Dash it to fragments; tram ple it in the dust. [Applause] Grind it to powder, as the prophets of old commanded that the graven images of the Hebrew idelators should be ground, and in that state seat the it to the four winds, and strew it upon the waters that no human hard shall ever again gather up the accursed atoms and mould them into an image to be wor-shipped again with human sacrifices. [Loud and prolong-

Mr. Johnson, chairman of the emancipation commit tee in the last Legislature of Missouri, was the next speaker. He commenced by saying that the object of the delegation in proceeding to Washington was to obtain from President Lincoln relief from the sessession rule in Missouri of Gen. Schofield and Gov. Gamble, who were appointing slaveholders and secessionists instead of loyal men as officers in the enrolled soldiery of the State. He then speke of the principles of his party. The first chapter in their radicalism, he said, was that they believed that we were engaged in a life and death struggle, and that the means and efforts of every loyal man in the country should be given earnestly, enthus astically, and exhaustively to the final and utter crushing out of this unholy rebelien. [Applause] The second chapter in their radicalism was that they believed that as slavery was the cause of the war there thou d be no compromise, no conciliatory measures. no cessation of hostilities until the cause of the war was | CHESAPEARE AND ONIO CANAL - The total at dead beyond hope of reconstruction in every part of the coal transported over the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal for Slaveholding States. [Great cheering.] They had waited the month of September, was 20,034 tons in 189 boats.

on the President of the United States, demanding simply this, that the President should cast his influence in favor of freedom, as the friends of the Union in Missouri want it, and in opposition to pro slaveryism, which is but a modified form of secession. The speaker then gave an account of the difficulties in Missouri and Kansas, and said that the Government adopts its policy in accordance with the wishes of Gov. Gamble, and that the General of the department associates with secessionists and acts in one department associates with secessionists and acts in oppo-sition to the loyal people of Missouri, who have sworn in their hearts that the justitution of slavery there shall go time, ten copies of the Weekly paper; and a reduction of 25 per cent. (or one-fourth of the full charge) to any one who will order and pay for, at one time, twenty or more copies.

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MR. BLAIR S. SPEECH.

their hearts that the institution of slavery there shall go down. [Great applause] What was the use of talking to them as the Postmaster General did in his late remarkable speech about hybridism and negro equality. How foolish it was to talk about the question of what should be done with them. The President had recommended gradual emancipation. Suppose he did. He recommended emancipation with compensation But the speaker thanked God in his secret heart that Congress adjourned without making any provision for emancipation. But the world making any provision for emancipation. But the world is advancing, not withstanding the President of the United States. [Laughter and applause] The end of this war must bring with it the end of slavery, and the loyal m n of Missouri were fighting for that result. The grapple with Missouri were fighting for that result. The grapple with slavery by the North in this struggle should be so earnest as not to leave a single vestige of the lostitution in the country. [Cheers] This radical policy, supported by the loyal men of the loyal States, and by a majority of the loyal people of all the States, is the only live policy in the United States. [Cheers.] That party is the only live party that can beat copperheadism, and it will do it. [Applause.] Will the people of the North, after this bloody conflict, allow the cowardly devices of Northern secessionists at heart to prevail, and again compromise with "our erring Southern brethren?" ["No, no."] Many of our public men to-day are fearful of our progress. They are trying to restrain us, and are leaning toward a They are trying to restrain us, and are leaning toward a conservatism which must unite them with the copper heads. If we do not want to bow our heads to the ar-s tocracy of the South, we must whip the copperheads at the bailot-box. And suppose we do not whip them at the ballot-box. Suppose, for instance, that Mr. Vallandigham should be elected President of the United States, did they suppose the speaker would be a constitutional Union man then? Did they suppose he would respect the edicts of such a man? No, such a President would stand in the same relation to him that Jefferson Davis did now. [Applause And this is the position that the American people must occupy. This thing must be fought through new. But, if the Constitution of the United States recognised slavery—though be did not believe it—he wanted it amended, so that the provision should be stamped plainly and surely in it before this fight is over, that the American territory shall not hereafter contain a slave. [Tremen

Col. KREKEL, the present candidate for Judge of the Supreme Court of Missouri, was the next speaker. He said there could be no peace or quiet in Missouri until slavery was utterly crushed out in the State. Abraham Lincoln received seventeen thousand votes in Massouri. and all these men are, without exception, radicals. And yet he says that the radicals in Missouri are too fast he their desire to overturn slavery in that State, when they are only attempting to do in a slower way what, he b, the one single act of his proclamation, has done suddenly through all the States in rebellion. Slavery must fall in Missouri, or the loyal men must leave the State. And they would not leave their homes and be driven from the State by bushwheckers and guerrillas until they had met them face to face in bloody conflict. [Great applause]

Col. Moss, of Missouri, was next introduced. He said that in the platform of the radical party of the West was the plank that there should be no more slavery. The loyal prople are bound to have freedom and nothing short of it. A compromise would only leave the matter to be fought A compromise would only leave the matter to be fought over again. Slavery is doomed, and will die the death of a felon. It was with these feelings and views that the radical party presented themselves to the President; it was not known that he would deny their request; he might grant it; he would be compelled to pretty soon. The President thought they in Missouri were going too fast; but that man who has made no progress on the question of slavery in the past three years stands to-day on the platform of the rebels. The loyal people of the West have decreed that it must die in the next tweive mon be, and already slaveholders begin to feel and fear it. The steaker denounced the copperheals as more despitable ther denounced the copperheals as more despisable the rebels; and as to the peace men and their proposigners, brave men, with guns and sabres, were appointed who would settle the question of the rebellion without the aid of such politicians. But there was no settlement except in the subjugation and extermination of the rebels. Another question with the radicals was, shall a rebel hereatter be allowed a vote or a seat in legislative halls! They said no, and they cared not what Presidents or politicians might say; the rebels could not live among them; and they would not admit Jeff Davis and his partners—at least until after twenty-one years of training. They of Missouri did not want men who a few years since talked loudly of irrepressible conflicts to talk about compromise now; they did not intend to have such men in office in future; they want men who, when they lay down a principle, are willing to take its logical consequences; it is folly to conduct war on moderate and conservative princip es.

Dr. SCHUTZ, who spoke in German, held that radicalism in this case was nothing but an understanding from the start of what the course of events would ultimately lead to, and acting according to the logic of events. He show ed that the logic of events had compelled the Administration on all important questions to come up to the measures advocated by the radicals, but, unfortunately, only after the nation had spent thousands of lives and millions of dollars as the price of the lesson. This war was not an American issue merely; it was a war for freedom all over the world, and especially the fate of popular liberty in Europe was depending upon the issue of this struggle.

The meeting adopted, unanimously, a series of resolutions condemning the course of the Administration in sustaining Governor Gamble and Gen. Schofield; commending the emancipation proclamations of Gen. Fremont and President Lincoln, and tendering the warmest sympathics of the freedom-loving men of the country to the partisans of immediate emancipation in Missouri,

COTTON-GROWING ABROAD.

Ever since the commencement of the rebellion, Europeans have been putting forth every exertion to supply from other sources the deficiency in the American supply of cotton. These two years have done much to lead us to definite and positive conclusions in regard to the comparative productiveness of other fields, and the result cannot fail to be gratifying to our national pride.

British India, the West India Islands, Egypt, and Turkey have been successively put to the test, and the most thorough experiments only prove more conclusively that, in the future as in the past, the old world must derive its supply of cotion from the new. The histus has not been filled, and there is not a single manufacturer in Europe who is not to-day fervently hoping that, in some way, the ob taining of American cotton may be resumed. English factories are quiet; French operatives are supported at the public expense, and Austria is threatened with finan-cial ruin, and all for the want of American cotton.

Two years ago England pointed triumphantly to her pos-sessions in India and claimed that they would soon be able to supply the cotton demand of the world. Experiments, thorough and convincing, have been made, and the claim is no larger u ged. Indis has a population of 180,000,000, area palf as large as all Europe, over the most of which cotton can be grown, but the obstacles to successful culture are serious if not in urmountable. The natives turn with reluctance from food crops upon which they rely, and more energy, to something which requires more labor and more energy, and yields less immediate returns. Def-ets in both climate and soil render the yield less and the quality poorer than that grown in America. Not very much is known yet of cotton prospects in Africa, but enough to dispel all sauguine expectations that permanent relief may be expected from that quarter. The native negro evinces no aptitude for its cultivation, and prefers to deal in palm oil, which yields readier returns with much less effort. The prospect seems brighter in Egypt, for the country is unsurpassed in fertility, and its capacity seems to be limited only by the facilities for irrigation and the amount of labor at command. But the enterprise of the people sustained by their present Vicercy will do much to overcome these obstacles, and large numbers of American ploughs and cat-ton gins have already been sent to the land or the Paaraohs. But it will take years of time and millions of capital to ac complian there what can be easily done here, and America must still be considered the cotton-field of the world.

SPEECH OF THE HON. MONTGOMERY BLAIR,

(POSTMASTER GENERAL.)

On the Revolutionary Schemes of the Abolitionists and in Defence of the Policy of the President.

At the Unconditional Union Meeting held at Rockville, Montgomery county, Maryland, on Saturday, the 3d instant, the subjoined speech was delivered by Hon. MONT-COMERY BLAIR. Postmaster General, in defence of the policy of the President of the United States, and in opponition to the efforts of the radical Abolitionists to blot out the Southern States and receive them back into the Union only as Territories.

Fellow-citizens: I congratulate you on the hopes just'y inspired by the circumstances under which we meet today. The progress of our arms gives us good reason for believing that peace will soon be restored to our country, and that when it comes it will be an enduring peace, because obtained by preserving the integrity of the Government, and because it will be followed by the early suppression from our system of the institution of domestic slavery, which occasioned most of the difficulty in the founding of the Government, and has been the only cause which ever seriously endangered its existence.

But, even whilst we are indulging these well-founded topes that our country is saved from destruction by the rebellion, we are menaced by the ambition of the ultra-Abolitionists, which is equally despotic in its tendencies and which, if successful, could not fail to be alike fatal to republican institutions. The elavocrats of the South would found an oligarchy-a sort of feudal power imposing its yoke over all who tilled the earth over which they reigned as masters. The Abolition party, whilst pronouncing philippics against slavery, seek to make a caste of another color by smalgamating the black element with the free white labor of our land, and so to expand far beyoud the present confines of slavery the evil which makes t obnexious to republican statesmen And now, when the strength of the traitors who attempted to embody a power out of the interests of slavery to overthrow the Government is seen to fail, they would make the manumission of the slaves the means of infusing their blood into our whole system by blending with it "amalgamation, equality, and

The cultivators of the soil must then become a hybrid race, and our Government a hybrid Government, ending as all such unnatural combinations have ever done, in degraded, if not abortive generations, and making seridom for the inferior easte-the unmixed blood of the conquerer race inevitably asserting a despotism over it. To facilitate this purpose a concerted appeal is now made to the people of the Free States through the press, to open the way to this during innovation, beginning in the Southern States, unhappily new brought und r the ban of the Calhounite conspirators. With this view it is proposed to declare the State Governments vacated in that section when they are restored to the Union, and all the loyal men of the South, whom the tressons of Presidents Pierce and Buchanan, in complicity with Southern traitors, has subjugated, are to come under absolute submission to the representatives of the Nor hern States in Congress, without the vestige of a State right, a State law, or Constitution to protect them. Nay, not even the franchise of a vote to send a solitary representative to the legislative body to which their destiny is to be committed.

Simultaneously, three leading organs—the Chronicle at Washington, boasting a sort of official sanction; the Missouri Democrat, the ultra abolisher, of Fremont graft, at St. Louis: the Atlantic Monthly, which leads to the parent stock at Boston all it can boast of literary strength and elegance—have struck the k-y note of revolution, the sheer abolition of State constitutions in the regions suffer-

ing under the rod of the rebellion.

The article in the Atlantic Monthly may justly be the issue on which the abolition party has resolved to rest its hopes of set ing up its domination in this country. The announcement of its design to assume for Congress absolute power over the States recovered to the Union, without allowing representation for them in the body, argues much for the confidence of those who never attained an ounce of political weight until they threw them elves into the scale of the Republican party at Chicago, wherein State rights, even the most doubtfu one as-erting exclusive power over the subject of slavery was solemnly recognised. "And now in this discussion," says the new tikase, " to are brought to the practical quest tion which is destined to occupy so much of public attention It is proposed to bring the action of Congress to bear di recily upon the redel States. This may be by the establish ment of Provisional Governments under the authority of Congress, or simply by making the admission or recogni-tion of the States depend upon the action of Congress. The essential f-atures of the proposition is that Congress shall assume jurisdiction of the rebel States." One would sup-pose that "the action of Congress" had been already brought to bear "directly on the reber States" by the armies which Congress has raised and sent against the rebel States; or, to use exact language, the States in which the rebels enforce an usurpation over the loyal

people.

But it is not over the States in the hands of rebels which the abolt ion programme proposes to assume jurisdiction, but over the States when wrested from the usurpation of the loyal people sgainst the political military bedies now exerting the forces of Government in that portion of the Heliad States in which the rebellion reigns for the time triumphant. The Union wages war, but it does not wage war upon the loyal people, upon the Constitution they re cognis , or the true Constitution, upon the spirit and forms of their Government, upon its archives or property. On the contrary, the whole system as part of the Union subsists and is respected by the nation, and only re mains in ab-yance where the rebels hold sway by force o arms. It is against this rebel organization, against the persons and property, the means and instrumentalities of the rebels, that the United States make war in defence of

the loyal men and loyal Governments.

The assumption that certain States of the South are extinct—annihilated by the rebellion—and that a Congress composed of representatives from the States in which the rebellion does not exist, has the right to consider the sister republics where the insurrection for the momen prevails as dead bodies, to be disposed of as they please when they get posse sion, is abhorient to every principle on which the Union was fluided. No member of the Union, nor the Government of the whole, can act upon any of the States but in the mode prescribed by the Constitu tion. They are all bound to guarantee to each a republi can form of government, and that is a government adopted by the people, for it is the essence of republican government that it shall emanate from the people of the State. The Federal Government derives its power from the ame source, and it is on the people and through the peo ple that it must act as a nationality, and not upon the Sta blotting them out of existence by supp sition, while their constitutions, laws, archives, property, all survive, and a loyal people to give them activity the moment that constraint is thrown off. The abolition programme assumes, on the contrary, that, because violence has trodden down State governments and State rights, they have ceased to exist; that a loyal people in whom they still survive and have being, and to whom the U. ited States s'ands pledged to guarantee them forever, must also have perished; and that a Congress of the other States may step in and take absolute authority over the whole region as vacaled States and Territories and legislate for it, founding this new usurpation upon fictions as absurd as these on which the rebel

The abolition programme ascribes all our calamities " to the pestilent pretension of State rights." The discontent with the treaty between the United States and Great Biltain, called Jay's treaty, originated "in positiont State rights" The famous resolutions of Virginia and those of Kentucky, usually known as the Resolutions of '98, spring from "pestilent State rights." The Missouri controversy about the prohibit on of slavery—the first South Carolina utbreak-the contests in Congress about abolition pet tions, about the r cognition of Hayti, about Texas, about the Wilmet provise, about the admission of California, of the compromise of 1850, the Kaosas restion-" all this audacity was in the name of State

If we except from this aggravated list charged to "pestilent Sta e rights' the incipient treason of the South Scroling ordinance, there was nothing beyond the while-ome di cuesions incident to parties in free Governments, in which S ate rights made no resistance to national au-

the active employment of the checks and balances of our complicated system of National and State Governments, which are essential to the vitality of all its parts, and enables all to take a just share of the power which moves estilence from Washington's time till this hour, when it

are told that this is effected first by "State suicide."
States themselves committed suicide, so that as States they ceased to exist, leaving their whole jurisdic-tion open to the occupation of the United States under the Constitution." Burke is quoted to make good this osition. "When men," says Burke, "therefore break up the original compact or agreement which gives its corporate form and capacity to a State, they are no longer a people. They have no longer a corporate form or ex istence," &c. The programme adds: "If that great master of elequence could be heard, who can doubt that he would blast our rebel States as senseless communities who have sacrificed that corporate existence which makes them living component members of our Union of

Burke might blast "the rebel Sta'es," but would he blast Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennes-see, and all the rest of that noble sisterhood of Stat's which, with their loyal people, have in succession been trodden under foot by a military force? Have the people who resisted at the po'ls, and who still resist in arms, uoi ted with their brethren under the flag of the Union wherever it appears, sacr fixed that corporate existence which identifies themselves and their States as "living

omponent members of our Union?"

Is not the Umon and its Constitution identified as "that corporate existence" with the States which makes them all—those trodden down and those standing up—component members of our Union of States? How can the Union, which is the guaranty of the government of every republic of which it consists, admit, whilst it lives, that any part of it is dead? It does not admit it. It is at war in every State of the Union at this moment, co ope eignty, to crush the traitors who violate it. As members of the Union, the States assailed by treason may be said to be paralyzed, but they live in all their vital powers, ready for resurrection in the persons of their loyal people the moment the stone is rolled away. The traitors only will have committed political suicide.

"The man recovered from the bite: The dog it was that died."

I allow that "it'is a patent and undisputed fact that this gigantic trea-on was inaugurated with all the forms of law, and "that the States pretended to withdraw bodily in their corporate capacities," which is the ground-work of the corporate capacities," which is the ground-work of the second proposition of the programme, viz: "That the States by their flagrant treason have forfeited their rights as States so as to be civilly dead." But the Federal Government is very far from admitting that "the forms of law" employed by the rebels, or the fact that "the States pretended to withdraw bodily," aff cted in the least the legal status of the States in question. Treason was com-mitted not by any State, but by the individuals who made use of the forms of the State Governments and attempted dismember the National Government.

The suggestion that States, guaranteed by the Const tution as under the shield of the Union, can in any way b held responsible for this treason and subjected to a for feiture of their rights as a consequence, shows the affinity of the Abolitionists to the Nullifiers. Calhoun's whole scheme was based on the propostion they now adept, that the States "could withdraw bodily in their corporate ca-pacity." The true dectrine, as laid down by the Fathers f the Constitution, is, that the employment of the form of the State Governments and the pretence of withdrawing them in their corporate capacity out of the pale of the national authority, does not shift the responsibility from

the traiters to the people.

Hamilton, in the Federalist, marks the change of this point effected by the adoption of the Constitution says: "The great and radical vice in the construc tion of the existing Confederation is the principle of legis-lation for States or Governments in their corporate or collective capacities, and as contradisguished from the individuals of whom they consist." He emphasizes this proposition in the strongest manner, by the use of capitals, in order to condemn the policy of acting on States instead of criminal individuals. The aim of the Abolitionists is now to accomplish this very thing in defiance of the Constitution. They demand that Congress shall attach the treason in the South, plotted in secret and sprung upon people of the whole region, and insist that they have for-feited their rights in their corporate and collective capacities for the treason of these individuals.

It asserts the power of legislation over the States Governments, instead of applying the law of treason to the working out the salvation of the nation in the mode pre guilty individuals to whom alone, in the very nature of things, it is applicable. No learning is necessary to enable one to see that a State cannot be guilty of treason or any other crime: only common sense is wanting to compre-bend that guilt cannot be imparted to any but a sention being; and only common honesty is required to perceive the injustice of distranchising loyal citizens on account of the offeners committed by the disloyal.

But the manifesto I am considering comes at last to the conclusion that these modes of refining the States out of the Union are unsatisfactory. " I discard (says the writer all theory, whether it be of State suicide, or State forf-iture or State abdication on the one side; or State rights, in mortal and unimpeachable, on the other side; such discussions are only endless mazes in which a whole Senate may 'be lost" Veri'y, such contemptuous flinging away States and State rights as of no better stuff than may be overlaid with cobwebs and dust-such flusy arguments of State suicide, State forfeiture, State abdication, might, f indulged in, reduce the Senate to a lost c ndition the process of this scheme shows how readily it might be disposes of States and Senstors, without resorting to the merged in a consolidated head. Here is the recipe which troublesome fiction of State suicides, State forfeitures, or State abdications.

I discard a'so the question of d jure. Whether, for example, the ribel States while the rebellion is flagrant, are de jure States of the Union, with all the rights of States is enough for the time being, and in the absence of loyal Government, they can take no part and perform no function in the Union, so that they cannot be recognised by the National Government. The reason is plain. There are in these States no local functionaries bound by constitutional oaths, so that there are in fact no constitutional function ries; and since the State Government is neces. sarily composed of such functionaries there can be no State Governments." This is summary reasoning, but it begins by an assumption that there are no States but rebel States, putting out of the question the existence of the of the nation to strengthen them in the possession of the States de jure which have subsisted from the foundation Government they usurped, the President declaring by me of the Government to this hour, and the existence of which the United States are bound to guaranty and maintain. and is at this moment fighting the bloodest battles known to modern annals to support against the most excuseless treason and shameless counterfeit authority that ever put

de jure States of the Union with all the rights of States, and that, "as they can lake no part and perform no function in the Union, so they cannot be recognised by the Does it become any party in this country, pretending teach General Government." But does it follow that States are to republican government, to succer at a loyalty which has by the profine Jennicon to some candidates for the chappated, tottering power within their territorial limits! states every day recognised as States in the Union; States proved on its experience in the school of whose constitutions, laws, archives, loyal citizens, public these leval men of the South worse than slaves edifices, lands, rights, and properties of all sorts, are reognised and held sacred, not only in the hearts of loyal patriots of this and every other civil zed country, but hich the Government of the nation recognises as forming a member of it in every official act, and by every offi-cer at home and abroad who has occasion to refer to them. More than a milion of brave men have left their homes, and one hundred thousand of them at least have laid down their lives, to put down the conspirators and lift up the

the Union.

To what purpose have our glorious soldiers devoted bemselves? To destroy the rights of the true men they went to save, together with the rights of these States, consecrated to the Union by memories of the renown that belongs to our history And on what pretext is it that States which fought the battles of our independence— States older than the Union, and which labored in its con struction, are to be disfranchised of the rights that Union is pledged to guaranty to their under a republican form of Government as equal in the Confederation?

Congress is to take to itself parliamentary powers, dis-franchise certain Stat's, declare others to be mere Terriries having no government, and this because "there are in those St tes no tocal functionaries bound by constitu tional oaths;" so that in fact there are no constitutional functionaries, and since the State government is necessarily composed of such functionaries there can be no State

and what fatal results come upon the States from the want of local functionaries bound by constitutional oaths!
Therefore, "no constitutional functionaries." Therefore, so State governments;" and, finally, the want of local

prosperous period of our history, proves that it proceeds sealed with this pronunciamiento: "the whole broad rebel as such divided the State and set up a new State in the region is tabula rasa, or a clean state, where Congress,

> It is strange that a party bases such immense power on such an immaterial fact that it might be mistaken as to the existence of the fact. The States involved in insurrection have multitudes of magistrates, State and United States judges, and other sworn functionaries, ready to resum: t heir functions the moment the rebel military dures is removed, and the whole machinery of the State govern tives and all civil efficers, as soon as the military power of the Union has accomplished its du ies. In the mean time, are not the State governments in the hands of their appropriate functionaries, bound by constitutional oaths, when the army of the nation is in their midet? Then our crmy and its officers are at this instant executing, in all the States proposed to be disfranchised, their most appro-priate functions in breaking the rebel power and lifting up and invigorating the State authority every where. In this way the most potent recognition the Union can afford is even to the State governments as members of the Union. Not only army and navy and President give this recor attion, but Congress, in voting men and money to erect this grand retinue, pays its homage to the endangered States, of whose maimed condition the ultra Abolitionists would take advantage to reduce to Territories and strip of the rights of republican government. In this Con-gress proves its just appreciation of our Federal system as conceived by its authors. Madison, in the Federalist,

says: "The State Government may be regarded as con stituent and essential parts of the Federal Government, ganization of the former. Without the intervention of State Legislatures the President cannot be elected a all. They must in all cases have a just share in his ap pointment, and will perhaps in most cases of themselves determine it," &c.

The consequence of this imposed as a duty on the part of the General Government to each State a guaranty of a republican form of government, which supposes a pre-existing Government of the form which is to be guarantied, existing Government of the form which is to be guaranteed, and in effecting this guaranty both Madison and Hamilton unite in saying the Union may interpose in crusting the dominant majority in a State. Madison thus touches this point: "At first view it might not seem to square with the republican theory, to suppose either that a majority have not the right, or that a minority will have the force to subvert a Government; and consequently that the Federal interposition can never be required but when it would be improper. But theoretic reasoning in this, as in most cases, must be qualified by the lessons of practice. Why may not illicit combinations for purposes of violence be formed as well by a majorty of a State, espe cially in a small State, as by a majority of a county of district of the same State? And if the authority of th State ought in the latter case to protect the local magistracy, ought not the Federal authority in the former to support the State authority? Besides, there are certain with the Federal Constitution that a violent blow can be given to the one without communicating the wound to the other," &c. He asks again: "Is it true that force and right are necessarily on the same side in re-publican government-? May not the minor party possees such a superiority of pecuniary means, of the mini-tary talents and experience, or of a secret success from oreign Powers as will render it superior also in an appeal to the swo d? May not a more compact and advansgeous position turn the scale on the same side against a superior number so situated as to be less capable of a npt and collected exertion of its strength ! Nothing can be more chimerical than to imagine that in a trial of actual force victory may be calculated by the rules which prevail in a census of the inhabitants or which determine

Union interposing by force to protect a State government against internal fees, up in the score toat usurpers, clothed with the forms of legal authority, can too often crush the opposition in embryo. Against this anticipated danger he uts to our happy federation of State Governments for safety. He says: "Power being alm at always the rivel of power the General Government will at times stand ready to check the usurpations of State Governments. General Government. The people, by throwing them-selves into either scale, will infallibly make it preponde-rate. If their rights are invaded by either, they can invoke the u e of the other as the instrument of redress. How wise it will be in them, by cherishing the Union, to

And yet the Abolitionists would begin the work of de mehshing this system by disfranchising and throwing out scribed in its charter.

The Abelition manifesto protests against "the instanrestoration of the old State Governments in all their parts through the agency of loyal citizens, who, mean while, must be protected in this work of restoration! And why may not the loyal citizens perform this mos essential and patriotic duty? "B cause," adds th paper, "it attributes to the loyal citizens of the rebe States, however few in numbers—it may be an insignificant immerity—a power clearly inconsistent with the received principle of popular government, that the majority must rule. The seven votes of Old Surum were allowed to return two members to Parliament, because this place, once a Roman fort and afterwards a sheep walk, many generations before, at the early casting of the House of Commons, had been entitled to this represents tion: but the argument for State rights assumes that all these rights may be lodged in voters as few as ever con trolled a rotten borough in England."

The argument of Madison, which I have already quoted dicates the principle of the Constitution which send the masses of the United States into a State to assert the rights of a loyal minority over an usurping majority there But the sneer at the loyalty of the South in the suggestion of Old Surum, as a parallel for its voterse is in every as pect unworthy and unjust Notwithstanding the con-pur acy at work in secession societies and in public bodies throughout the Unit d States to underune the loyalty of the South for thirty years—notwithstanding two Northern Presidents j ined this conspiracy, the one wielding the powers of the Federal Government to add Kansas as a State to reinforce it, and the other sending the navy into distant seas to give it a-curity, and the army into the remote West to be surrendered with all posts, forts, navy yards, mints, munitions of war, custom-houses, national comees, and wealth of all sorts, thus in fact making the nation itself the ally of treason--notwithstanding the Pri sident of the United States thus betrave I the States of the South into the hands of the conspirators with the mean traitors could not bring a majority of the voters to it polls in any of the States but South Carolina to counter, ance the usurpation. In Louis ana, Missouri, Arkansas, Kentucky, Tennessee, Maryland, and Virginia a majority It may be readily conceied that "rebel States" are not armed conspirators that p readed the whole South to con-

I turn from the Aboliti n programme to that which presented by President Lincoln. The issue is made: We must choose one or the other. His plan is simple. He would disabilitate the rebels, and their usurpation called Confederacy of States, and rehabilitate the loyal mer and their States and Republican Governments. To do is he most break the power of the conspirators; cru h r expel them from the region of insurrection, restoring the persons of loyal citizens with n the confines of their specieve States the Republican Governments which now a their administration committed to our loyal armies and loyal at zens, who have their protection. As soon as is protection is needless, the State Governments resumtheir functions under officers chosen by citizens who have been true to it, and by such others as may be comprehended in an amnesty, and who have given in a sincere adhesion to it and the Government of the Union, and the casures taken in its maintenance.

Missouri, whose Governor, Legislature, and Judicus officers betrayed her, expelled her faithless representative with the aid of the Federal Government, and filled there piaces with loyal men, abolishing slavery as an earn at a ter abboreace of the means and the ends for which itonspirators against the Union labored Kentucky, ter porarily para yzed by the trenchery of her Governor, we soon put right by the people when furnished with arms by the Government, carried to them by the lamented and gallant Nelson. In Maryland the attempt to turn her over to the rebels was crushed by the arrest of treasonable legislators. Virginia was overwhelmed for a time; bu Western Virginia being delivered from the arm d brigands, called a Couvention, elected a Legi-lature for the woode State. thority. This denunciation of the party influence derived the States in one-third of the Union, and their destiny is recognised as the law-making power of the whole State, and will continue to follow it.—Chicago Post,

This exemplifies the President's mode of saving the Union. He saves the States, putting the powers of the Government, as soon as they are redeemed, into the hands of loyal men; and then the State resumes its place in the councils of the nation with all its attributes and rights. He has signified his purpose of inviting Ternessee and Louisiana, now in preparation, to follow these examples; and every other State, as soon as they can be rescued from the tebel armies, will be aided to come in and reintegrate the

Now, what is the pretext for abandoning this safe and healing policy of the President? So fer it has worked well, and secured the approbation of all well-wishers of the country. The abolition programme shows semewhat o the motive for converting States into Territories and carrying them back into colonial bondage, to take law from Congress without representation. The reasons assigned are "slavery (says the programme) is impossible within the exclusive jurisdiction of the National Government." many years I have had this conviction, and have constantly maintained it. I am glad to believe that it is impossi-ble, if not expressed in the Chicago platform Mr. Chase, among other public men, is known to accept it sincerely. Thus slavery in the Territories is unconstitutional; but if the rebel territory falls under the exclusive jurisdiction of the National Government, then slavery will be impossible there. In a legal and constitutional sense it will die at once. The air will be too pure for a slave. I cannot doubt but that this great triumph has been already won. The moment that the States fell slavery fell also; so that, without any proclamation of the President, slavery has cessed to have a legal or constitutional existence in every

In concert with the elaborate article in the Atlantic Monthly, a Department organ, the Chronicle, at Washington, strikes the key-note of State annihilation in a leading editorial . "There," (says this print,) 'is a conflict of , authorities—of 'tale and Federal authorities—and it is , clear that one or the other must be annihilated. If the State succeeds the Federal authority is gone forever; nothing can restore it, not even the State itself which destroy d it; for in this case the Federal authority would become subordinate to the State authority and be no Goyernment at all. For the same reason, if the Federal authority prevails and succeeds in putting down the rebel-lious States, must the State authority be destroyed." And then the case is put of the present conflict, "in which several States combine against their common Federal Government. Here the power to be overcome is not only greater but in a moral point of view far more dangerous to the Federal Government. Hence, when such a rebellion is subdued, it is not only necessary to destroy the tressonable element in such rebellious States, but also the power which these States had to combine against the Federal authority," &c.

In conjunction with these movements at Washington and Boston to annihilate the State Governments which preceded and helped to create that of the nation itself, the conductors of Presidential schemes in St. Louis and throughout Missouri are endeavoring to throw that State into the caldron of revelution, that it too may be annihihate or declared vacated on one or the other counts of "State suicide," "State forfeiture," "State abdication," or 'State vacation," the "tabula rasa," or clear state, on which Congress may write the laws it pleases. Does not the extreme anxiety evinced in certain quarters in these forced efforts to prevent the States dropped out of the Union by con-pirature from returning under the suspices of the President, the patriotic army of the Republic, and the loyal citizens who would, through them, maintain their own and the rights of the States in question, indicate something of a design to command a great event in prospect by revolutionary means?

Is a ban upon one-third of the States marking them for exclusion from the Union, when treason is defeated and the traiters expelled, as just, as wise, as constitutional, as likely to end the troubles of the country, as that marked out and pursued by the President? Is it manifest now that the President must steer his course through the strong conflicting tides of two revolutionary movements—that of the nullifiers, to destroy the Union and jet up a Southern Confederacy, and that of the ultra-aboli lonist, which has set in to disfranchise the South on the pretext of making secure the emancipation of the slaves

The attempt of the nulliflors is rebuked from the cannon's mouth, and the proposal of France to secure their object by her triendly mediation is put aside by the President teding the Emperor that he will confer with the rebels through no indirect medium—that Senators and States, and bringing with them an earnest of returning loyslty, will be met as equals and admitted to the councils that are to dispose of the destiny of the nation. Alterations in its laws must be made by Congress; changes in he Constitution by delegatio is in Convention rom all the States, according to the terms of that instrument. This s the final response of the President to the rebels and the French Emperor. To the revolutionary demand for the distranchisement of the Southern States, the President's reply from his first message to the last, and in all his publisted letters has been uniform. It is couched in the words I read from his proclamation: "Hereafter as heretetore the war will be prosecuted for the object of practically restoring the constitutional relation between the United States and each of the States and the people thereof in which States that relation is or may be suspended or

The proclamation also answers the demands for the er ranchisement of the slaves. It is conceded from the n essity growing out of the rebellion and to quell it. closes with this salvo for the loyal sufferers under this lecisive measure: "The Executive will in due time recommend that all citizens of the United States who have remained loyal thereto throughout the rebellion, shall, upon the restoration of relations between the United States and the people of that relation shall have been suspen ed or disturbed, be compensated for all losses by acts of the United States, including the loss of slaves."

The issues are thus made up between the President and he tebels and their foreign sympathizers, who would reve utionize our Government to create a separate Governme in the South, on the one build; and on the other hand, be tween the President and the uttra abolitionists, who would disfranchise the Southern section of the country. It is not improbable that the latter, though aim up at a different result, will be found co-operating in the end with conspiraters of the South and their foreign allies. They may pre-fer parting with the South to partnership and equality un-

THE RADICAL SPIRIT.

The St. Joseph (Mo.) Gazette, referring to a speech made by Col. Jennison, at Elwood, Kanses, to stimulate enlistments in his new regiment, says : " Jennison will have no difficulty in raising his regiment,

and Jennison says, after it is raised, he will have no diffi

This Jengison, our readers are aware, is a military marauder, actively engaged in the border warfare between Kansas and Missouri. We find in the last number of that admirable religious journal, the New York Independent, the following copy of what it calls "the terse reply" made of radicalism:

HEADQUARTERS 15TH CAVALRY REGIMENT. Leavenworth, Kansas, Sept. 13, 1863

REV. GESTLEMEN: Your applications for the chaplainey of the 15th are received. In opposition, however, to criptural injunctions, we are attending more closely just now to our temporal than our spiritual requirements, and are not in position to appoint a chaplain. We are com-manded to watch and pray, and the 15th is inclined to the opinion that the more we have of the fermer the less we need of the laster. Fighting will be the business of the 15th, and it will have little need of the "cloth," except it may be to shrive rebeis who are going to the "kingdom come;" but if your fighting qualities are in excess of your pastoral capacities, we shall be happy to enlist you in the 15 h. We have already two minis ers in a single company, one of whom may be detailed at any time when the regment requires the interposition of his services.

Most respectfully,

MATTERS IN ARKANSAS Gen. Steele's army is now in quiet recupancy of the heart of Arkansas, with his headquarters at Little Rock. Gen. Davidson has returned from his pursuit of the flying rebels, baving followed them a distance of forty or fifty miles, and found their columns were dispersing as they went along.

The railway from Little Rock to Memphis is now in operation from the former place to Daval's Bluff, on White river, and probably before many weeks the iron horse will extend his trips to the Mississippi opposite Mem-(the greater part of it being still held by the rebels,) was phis. Thus "reconstruction" follows the national flag.